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# The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves  
of Capital to Vote Their  
Own Emancipation

Ninth Year—No. 397

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Price Five Cents

## AS "UNCLE SAM" SEES IT

By Geo. E. Boomer

### Socialist Party Candidate for Governor of Washington

There seems to be a psychological wave sweeping over the country that is turning the minds of men to Socialism. The presence of this wave has been particularly noticeable since the Red Special started on its tour. For some unknown reason thousands of men and women who heretofore have turned away from even an investigation of the subject are now eagerly seizing every opportunity they can reach to hear the truth about the impending industrial revolution. It is one of those queer things that no one can explain.

The best of it is that the thousands who are listening to our speakers more than willingly accept the working class interpretation of the movement. It is beginning to be acknowledged by all of them without an exception, almost, that the working-class, being the only class whose immediate interests and ideals are in harmony, is the only class who can be trusted to abolish capitalism.

The small farmer is beginning to realize that he is practically the last surviving specimen of the obsolete species of primitive and costly wealth producers, and, realizing that, he also realizes that he is doomed to extinction exactly as was the old hand-loom weaver, the little shoemaker and the stage-coach-owner. The development of the capitalist system is forcing the knowledge upon him that when he goes the capitalist system offers him nothing in return. That he is down and out for good and must join the helpless and hopeless wageworker to tramp the country to look for a job. He is being shown by the Socialist that Socialism will have no more use for him than does Capitalism, but that Socialism will offer to him that which it will offer to every other worker—the right to apply his labor power under the best possible conditions, with the aid of the best machinery, so that he may produce as much wealth as possible in the shortest time for the benefit and future security of himself and his family. The pressure of the capitalist system is driving the little farmer to desperation and he is beginning to come to the Socialist, willing at last, to take chances with the proletariat.

This, at least, is the way I have found them feeling since I started out Sept. 4. In every precinct in which I have been I have found a tremendous change of sentiment. Where there were one or two Socialist votes four years ago there are now from ten to twenty. This was true all through Stevens County almost and is true in Eastern Washington, as well as in the Sound country.

At Washtucna, for instance, where there were but two votes four years ago and where one of them has moved away, there are ten the boys are sure of. At Ellensburg four years ago it was impossible to get enough Socialists together to organize a local. When I spoke there a couple of weeks ago there were 80 paid up members, and nearly all railroad workers. At Wilkeson the miners are coming to Socialism almost in a body. At Buckley the Socialist meetings are larger than either of the old parties have been able to hold this year. At Orting, where four years ago there were six votes at the soldiers' home, this year there will be anywhere from 50 to 100.

I believe that the growth of the Socialist vote this year will be sufficient to destroy the Democratic party as a factor in national politics. It is not necessary that our vote should be anywhere near as large as the Democratic. Whenever our vote has grown to amount to anything the two factions of the capitalist class have always united in defense of their common interest—the plunder of the workers. Their various "issues" with which they fool the workers—tariff, finance, etc., are simply the different tools the two factions use in gambling among themselves for the wealth their system has taken from labor. Each faction appeals to the workers for votes in order to get itself elected to power where it may install the particular game that will give the faction in office an advantage over that which is out of office. That there is some plunder to quarrel over is more important, of course, than to have the games on and no stakes. Hence it will be amusing to see with what alacrity the two factions of capitalism will be in accord after election. They may put up a pretense of a fight, but it will

be a sham. Wherever the Republicans are strong there will be a Republican ticket but no Democratic. If other localities the process will be reversed.

At no time in the history of the world have those struggling for liberty ever been given it by those in power. Liberty has never been given. Those wanting it have always had to take it; and it will be so in this case. Those who are profiting by a system, or who think they will never willingly change it. Thus it is that the proletariat, having lost everything under capitalism and knowing they can gain nothing, is the only class who can vote solidly and confidently for a change without any danger of being sidetracked by some reform movement. Every other class can be appealed to by some reform that will lessen the pressure upon them or perhaps delay the taking of whatever little property they may have left.

That the Socialist movement is becoming clearer, and especially right in the midst of a heated campaign, is a sign of tremendous import and bodes wonderful advance for the future.

The present campaign is the most important the working class has ever entered and I believe they are going to make a record of which every Socialist will be proud. Let every Socialist see that he gets one other Socialist to the polls on the 3rd of November and you will have done your



duty. That will make an endless chain that will bring victory. . . . Let us see that each of us is a link in that chain that no force of capitalism can break. . . . And when we see you fill the streets of your cities and cheer more solidly

for the Marseillaise than you do any other air, as we have seen you do, we know that chain is being forged out of the strongest steel. Greetings, comrades, for the revolution, and which is so near we can hear its distant thunder roll of defiance and its measureless tread of unnumbered feet.

\$1,318 -- \$6,197 -- \$120,000,000,000

By Ben Hanford

Legrand Powers, for years the chief Statistician of the United States Census, is the author of the article on the wealth of the United States in the current (September) number of the "American Journal of Sociology," published by Chicago (Rockefeller) University.

Mr. Powers considers the official statements of the property value of the country, and declares they are too small, giving facts and figures in detail for his opinion. The official Federal statement of the property value of the United States for 1890 was \$65,000,000,000; for 1900 it was \$88,000,000,000, and for 1904 it was \$107,104,211,917. It will be recalled that Senator Burrows in his address as temporary chairman of the National Republican Convention at Chicago declared the value of OUR national wealth to be \$108,000,000,000.

Mr. Powers proves these figures too low, and states that the national wealth at the present time is certainly not less than \$117,000,000,000, and is probably as much as \$120,000,000,000.

Taking \$120,000,000,000 as the correct figure, and dividing that sum by the population of the United States at the present time (according to the most reliable estimates,) and we have \$1,318 as the wealth of the country per capita. That is to say, if it was all divided evenly and an equal share given to every inhabitant, there would be \$1,318 for every man, woman and child. There would even be \$1,318 for the baby born last night.

According to the census of 1900, the average size of families in the United States was 4.7 persons in each family. On that basis, if OUR national wealth was distributed equally among all the different families, there would be \$6,197 for each household.

The Wealth is here Mr. Free American, workingman—to the extent of \$120,000,000,000. YOUR LABOR PRODUCED IT. But it isn't YOURS. The wealth that your labor produced belongs to your landlord, it belongs to your employer, it belongs to the bondholders and stockholders of the United States—in short, to the Capitalist Class.

Your labor, Mr. Free American Workingman, has given the country in which you WORK a value of \$120,000,000,000—which belongs not to you who labor, but to those who do NOT labor. How does it come to be theirs? You must find the answer to that question, Mr. Free American Workingman. Your liberty and your LIFE depend on your being able to answer that question correctly.

Mr. Free American Workingman, the wealth of this country belongs to the Capitalist Class through the power of the Government—the political power. The Capitalists maintain THEIR economic power through YOUR VOTE.

Mr. Free American Workingman. Take a look about you. Can't you see that the Capitalists will vote for Bryan and Taft? Doesn't Edward Henry Harriman say that he does not care which is elected? Whether Bryan or Taft wins, Harriman the Railroad King is satisfied. Can't you see, Mr. Free American Workingman, that Standard Oil has subsidized BOTH parties?

Whether the Republicans win or whether the Democrats win, John Davidson Rockefeller, the Oil King, is satisfied. He OWNS wealth to a value of more than a BILLION DOLLARS, and he OWNS the parties of Bryan and Taft.

When United States Senator Julius Caesar Burrows (and other great men in the Republican Party) talks about OUR national wealth of more than \$108,000,000,000 he does not mean YOUR wealth, Mr. Free American Workingman, nor MINE. Senator Burrows says OUR wealth, but he means HIS WEALTH—and Rockefeller's wealth and the wealth of the Capitalist Class.

Just as it was YOUR LABOR that produced all that \$120,000,000,000 of wealth, Mr. Free American Workingman, so it was YOUR VOTE that gave it to Rockefeller, Burrows and the Capitalist Class. Just as your vote has given it to THEM in the past, so your vote can give it to YOURSELF in the future. The Capitalists GET the coun-

### LOCAL SEATTLE NEWS NOTES

A committee composed of Comrades Kubaski, Falk, Downie, Mutzeseck and Koplais were appointed to make arrangements for a monster protest meeting against the deportation of Comrade Pouden, a Russian revolutionist now held for trial in New York City.

Protest meetings have been held in many cities and thousands of signatures have been gathered on lists circulated for that purpose. The meeting will be held soon after the campaign is closed.

Comrade Mrs. Fiset has resigned from the Executive Committee. Comrade G. C. Stevens was elected to fill the vacancy.

Comrades Mathias and Humphreys have been added to the list of literature agents.

Three hundred Socialist song books have been put into commission at the Sunday night propaganda meetings. Singing by audience will now be a regular feature of these meetings and we hope to soon have a dependable chorus.

All Socialists who attended the Labor Temple meeting Sunday evening have been feeling good ever since. In response to invitations by the Local Four Democratic candidates occupied our platform for fifteen minutes each, followed by ten minutes of questions by the audience. Questions were unusually prompt,

try's wealth through their economic power, they KEEP it through their political power. You, Mr. Free American Workingman, by an intelligent use of your vote, can take the Capitalist's political power away from him and get it for YOURSELF. Then you can use YOUR political power to take the Capitalist's economic power from him, and get that power YOURSELF. Then you will be a FREE MAN. Never before. But, Mr. Free American Workingman, you will never take the political power from the Capitalist by voting HIS ticket. If you want the political power for YOURSELF you must vote YOUR OWN ticket.

Every vote for Taft and every vote for Bryan, Mr. Free American Workingman, is a vote that Rockefeller, Rogers, Morgan, Baer, Van Cleave, Comer, Peabody, Gooding, the slave-drivers, the dividend-lovers, the Union-busters, the rent-lord, the money-lord, and the factory-lord, the Capitalists who do NO WORK, shall have MORE of the \$120,000,000,000 that was produced by YOUR LABOR.

A vote for the Socialist Party, a vote for Eugene V. Debs, Mr. Free American Workingman, is a vote for YOURSELF. It is a vote for better days for YOUR WIFE AND YOUR CHILD. A vote for Debs, Mr. Free American Workingman, is a vote that YOU shall have MORE of the \$120,000,000,000 produced by YOUR LABOR.

and the squirming, dodging and ignorance displayed by our Capitalist friends, the enemy, was a sight for the gods.

Comrade Callahan ably represented the Socialist Party in a fifteen-minute reply to the whole bunch. Comrade Titus closed the meeting with a five-minute general statement of the Socialist position.

The meeting emphasized most emphatically the fact that the students of economics and social conditions are not to be found in old party politics, but are in abundance in the Socialist Party.

On Sunday, Oct. 25th, the propaganda meeting at Labor Temple will be under the auspices of the State Woman's Committee.

Mrs. Bessie Fiset and Mrs. Hattie Titus will debate with members of the Equal Suffrage Association.

Mr. Huntley and Frank Rust, candidates of the Democratic ticket, will also occupy the platform in the interest of their candidacy.

Mrs. Titus and Fiset will answer them.

All members who are in arrears for dues are requested to bring their cards to the business and propaganda meetings and have them "fixed."

A paid up membership is one sign of good organization. Are you in favor of good organization? Well then, pay your dues. E. T. ALLISON, Secretary.

## "THROW YOUR VOTE AWAY"

By E. S. Reinert, Socialist Candidate for Congress in 3d District of Washington.

Dear Comrade Titus: I have been thinking of writing you on the question of "Throwing your vote away." The argument on that seems to me to be very simple, and it is this, that you won't throw your vote away, even if you don't elect your candidate. For voting is nothing more or less than taking care of interests. Now, there are only two interests, the interest of the employer, that is the Capitalist, and the interest of the employee, that is the wage worker. These interests are diametrically opposed to each other. In our days the voter belongs to one or the other of these interests. Take as an example the wage working voter. If he votes the Republican or Democratic ticket, his vote is not thrown away, but is on the contrary counted for the Capitalist interests. If he votes the Socialist ticket, his vote is counted in favor of his own interest, which is bound up in the interest of his class, represented by the Socialist Party. A man's vote is never thrown away, except where it is not counted, for when it is counted it is counted either for or against his own interests, according to the way he votes.

Fraternally yours, E. S. REINERT, Oroville, Wash., Sept. 3, 1908.

## STATE NOTES

Seattle, Oct. 21, 1908. Nearly one thousand dollars was the contribution of Washington Socialists to the "Red Special" Fund. Money obtained for the same purpose and either collected at meetings along the line of travel of the Red Special or direct contributions from locals under whose auspices these meetings were held, will bring the total amount for Washington up to about \$1,500, just about double the amount which would have been necessary for Washington to pay had there been an assessment levied upon the party membership throughout the land.

Two years hence the Socialist Party of Washington will be in the position to offer thanks to the present State Supreme Court for the unwise decision that tribunal has rendered recently with a view of disfranchising the members of the working class. Up to date the party has only played the game of politics. The recent court decision has forced us into practical politics, and when this position is properly understood a more perfect party organization will be the result on the one hand, and on the other a political machine put to work in the interests of a revolutionary working class which will by far overshadow old party political machines, and compared with it Tammany will look like thirty cents in the election of 1910. The basis for this machine is being laid now and the prospects for a wonderful development on November 3 are bright.

With the exception of a single local so far all have taken up the sticker proposition in the right spirit. From nearly everywhere comes the glad word that the resolutions offered for adoption in support of this measure, financially and otherwise, have been unanimously adopted. Some locals make the request that their bill be sent at once, a request that cannot be heeded now; other more important matter must first be attended to.

Comrade James Lund, M. A. L., writes: "I am broke right now, but you may put me down with \$5.00 as my share of the bill, anyway."

In a letter asking for a speaker, Comrade Dewey, secretary of Local Tenino, writes that "the Republicans have unloaded their dope, the Democrats were at it now and are flooding Tenino with their oratory. It is now up to the Socialists to take the bad taste out of the mouths of Tenino people, so if you can do anything for us let me know at the earliest date possible." As an antidote Titus dope was suggested to the Tenino comrades. It will surely do it; other right dope is at present not available.

Dr. Hermon F. Titus of Seattle will speak at Buckley for the local there on Thursday, October 29. Successful meetings were held in Mt. Vernon and Sedro-Woolley on October 17 and 18, respectively.

About 2,500 circulars giving detailed instructions to party watchers at the polls will be printed on durable stock and arranged so that at the same time they may serve as the credentials for each watcher. Mimeographed circulars will be mailed to all locals in sufficient numbers to supply every party member with one, giving full instructions to all voters of the working class, who know what they want and know how to get it. They will be mailed in time so that all party members can fully inform themselves and then turn the instructions over to sympathetic voters.

All locals must go to work at once to organize their forces, so that not one precinct may be found in the state without party watchers. Keep a complete record of every detail, and in particular of all non-party members who may volunteer to assist us on election day in any way.

R. KRUEGER, State Secretary.

See page three for instructions in voting.

## ANDREW FURUETH'S ADVICE

By Tom Sladden

In the anti-Taft meeting in this city recently, Andrew Furuseth made the declaration that a vote for Debs was an indirect vote for Taft. Eighteen years ago, when the American Federation of Labor desired legislation in the interest of union labor they started to send to Congress lobbyists, lobbyists who rubber elbows with the lobbyists representing the Railroads, Standard Oil and the Steel Corporations. The corporation lobbyists demanded, labor's lobbyists pleaded. And when the Labor Organizations started to send these lobbyists to lounge around the corridors of Congress and the legislatures of these United States, the Socialists to a man ridiculed the proposition.

We were branded as fools and fanatics. The hard earned dollars of the wage workers were squandered to send men to beg for that which they should have arisen in their might at the ballot box to demand.

William Jennings Bryan, the then boy orator, called these lobbyists a lot of public beggars. Joe Cannon told them they did not amount to much and the Republican convention did what any sensible set of men would have done, kicked them out back and baggage. As beggars they had no right to any consideration whatsoever. Then the meek and lowly with caps in hands went to the Denver convention, where they were handed as neat a package of the tart citrus fruit as ever was plucked in the garden of love. And now because the Socialists refuse to join in this love feast in which the lemonade is handed around, Andrew Furuseth would have it that our votes are indirect votes for Taft. He says we have no chance of winning. We have more chance of electing Debs than he has of gaining anything for labor by electing the wind bag of the Platte to the presidency. We deny the allegation and defy the alligator.

It is the height of impertinence for the man, who for years has begged and pleaded the cause of labor, who for eighteen years according to his own admission has been on a fool's errand to come to those who know what they were doing and to tell those men to follow his lead. His place is no longer to lead, eighteen years of experience has taught many that these leaders have been blind leaders of the blind.

When Andrew Furuseth made the statement, that one of the great English Socialists had told him, Andrew Furuseth, that if he were in the United States he would vote for William Jennings Bryan, when Andrew Furuseth made this statement he violated every principle of common decency.

There is a code of morals, there is a system of ethics among parliamentarians, and Andrew Furuseth has that training, that no man of principle will violate and that is not to attempt to use ex-parte evidence—to use a man as authority for a statement when that man is not present to defend himself or when the speaker is unsupported by documentary evidence or unrefuted newspaper clippings.

This is a trick used only by charlatans.

When the Socialist at the armory asked, "How about the solid South?" he asked a question that was absolutely unanswerable by a Democrat. Bryan is not the issue. Bryan is but a charlatan himself. Seeking by meaningless phrases and honeyed words to gratify a personal ambition and land himself in a position in which his characterless personality would rattle like a tin wash boiler in a Kansas cyclone. Mr. Bryan would rather be president than right. He has gathered behind him the hordes of Hinky Dink, Bath House Johnnie and Tammany Hall. He is supported by Roger Sullivan, Thomas F. Ryan and the Belmonts of Elevated Railroad strike breaking fame. He has behind him the solid South, that Democratic South which has disfranchised the propertyless wage worker, which has instituted a system of peonage as bad as the peonage of Mexico which Furuseth refers to and which South still keeps in existence a convict slave system which would make Siberia seem a paradise.

He is backed by that solid South which has coined the flesh and blood of infants into dollars which are today flowing into the Democratic campaign fund. The soil of the Dakotas is being plowed by the sons of the South, the timber of Oregon and Washington is falling before the hands of those same sturdy exiles, while that same land of Democracy sends out a wall for those laborers whom by her inhuman treatment she has forced to wander far from home and kindred.

In that Democratic South today in many states to carry a union card is a crime. In West Virginia, the state of Mr. Gassaway Davis, who has just give \$500.00 to the Bryan fund, Mr. Furuseth would be cast in prison if he attempted to organize a union. Governor Comer, the Democratic Governor of Alabama, has just used all the powers of government to crush the labor organizations in his state, and it is a betrayal of labor to ask them to support any man behind whom lie these forces.

As Socialists we have only undying enmity for Mr. Taft, for Bryan only contempt. It is immaterial to us who is elected if it is one of these. Taft is a Federalist, Bryan a Mountebank. But were labor to line up solid behind Debs, Taft would have sense enough to recognize them, Bryan would not.

We do not doubt the sincerity of either Mr. Gompers or Mr. Furuseth, we do doubt their sanity.

We are Socialists. We are not looking for friends. The wage workers need no friends, a common understanding is sufficient. We believe in standing on our own feet. We are ready to go before no one with our caps in our hands.

The labor unions will gain nothing by throwing their votes to this man or that man who is fishing for everybody's vote and is carrying water on both shoulders.

The working man's friends wear overalls and do not publish a paper without a label for fear of offending some of labor's friends.

We have battled with labor through many a hard fought strike and gone hungry, we have lain in lousy jails and frozen in bullpens under Democrats and Republicans and at every election we have voted against those candidates who were making and executing those laws which labor now seeks to replace by others of their ilk. It is ridiculous for those labor leaders who six months ago were voting for these same candidates to come around and tell us how to vote. Mr. Furuseth seems to forget that six months ago he was opposing the labor union's candidate in San Francisco. There are some of us that have not, we are not ready to take any advice from a man whom it took eighteen years to learn that he could not get anything in Congress by begging for it.

## Labor Temple Sunday Night

Rust and Huntley, Democrat-Labor Candidates for Legislature, will talk and answer questions at the Socialist Party propaganda meeting Sunday, October 25.

In addition there will be debated the question: "Resolved, That the Quickest Way to Secure Woman's Emancipation is Through the Socialist Movement."

Hattie W. Titus and Bessie Fiset will take the affirmative and representatives of the Women's Suffrage Association will take the negative. Admission is free.

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BY J. EDWARD MORGAN

(Enroute to New York)  
Hall, oh Camrades, they are coming.  
They are wakening at last,  
They are rising by the thousands,  
Roused by Freedom's bugle blast.

Long the cringing giant, Labor,  
Bound by many a bloody thong  
Yielded servile to the wrong.  
How they bruised him! How they  
robbed him!  
How they mocked him as he lay!  
They who fattened from his labor,  
They who sucked his blood away!

But at last, at last he listens.  
Lo, 'tis freedom's voice he hears,  
And his blood burns mad with passion,  
Hope triumphant o'er his fears.

Then make ready, mighty masters,  
For the lightning of his wrath  
If ye dare to further crush him,  
If ye dare to block his path.

For the way now blazed before him  
Is the road to liberty.  
And ye do but dare the lightning  
When he struggles to be free.

When the bolt of pent-up vengeance  
Gathering thro' the ages long  
Shall break forth in awful grandeur,  
To give battle to the wrong.

When it strikes where fiends inhuman  
Grind the faces of the poor,  
When it strikes where blood of mar-  
tyrs  
Sparkles bright by tyrant's door.

When it strikes and prayers are hope-  
less—  
Then, oh masters, will ye know,  
All too late for tears, retraction,  
Ye shall reap the hell ye sow!

But we need no conflagration,  
Tho' we give, nor quarter take,  
We demand our rights as tollers,  
Right to own the world we make.

Let the master learn his lesson  
Ere the avenger's judgment day,  
Else behold in wreck and ruin,  
Pass his ruthless rule for ay.

Be so mighty busy, jumping from  
place to place, have little time to write,  
Seven months of continuous soap-  
box-try the nerve and voice—and  
have had hard battle to keep up phys-  
ical strength for the conflict. But we  
agitators live on the enthusiasm that  
the great movement engenders as fuel  
for the furnace, and I am confident of  
holding out 'till we have taken the  
Bastille and put the enemy to the tall  
timber.

Just came from police court—Halle-  
lujah!—its just like staying at home  
in Colorado. All things work together  
for good to those that love, a police  
fight. When I am home-sick and long  
for the invigorating Colorado breezes,  
sure as fate a wingless angel with  
mallet and shining star, takes me  
gently to his heaving bosom and very  
generously, almost magnanimously,  
escorts me to some battle, "far from  
the maddening crowds" ignoble away,  
where I rest up and pass away the  
blissful hours in happiest remem-  
brance of sun-kissed, bull-pen-blessed  
Colorado, and I am home once more in  
"olo-Russia.

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Here's how 'twas—who's why and  
what. You see we had big street meet-  
ing last night in Paterston. At close  
of talk my little boy, ten years old,  
who travels with me, took soap box to  
conduct the question meeting. (By the  
way, as I write I glance over my shoulder  
and see the little red-headed rebel  
with needle and thread patiently darn-  
ing his socks. Oh, I tell you we miss  
mamma—we two poor orphan rebels  
—no one to love us but the police.) As  
I was saying, the little red-headed  
kid—Walter Emmet Morgan (named  
after Robert Emmet, the Irish revolu-  
tionist—that's why the kid is a red-  
headed rebel) was answering ques-  
tions. He tied up all comers—finally a  
very wise, and popular judge, of Pater-  
ston—took exception to the boy's argu-  
ment that the working class can very  
readily dispense with all Capitalists  
with no end of comfort to themselves.  
He likened all Capitalists to fleas.

Well, when the argument grew  
heated his daddy took a hand. The  
learned judge was very courteous, but  
in the heat of the debate a beautiful  
he-angel, a rare exception, happened  
to alight in our midst. He wore a  
shiny star, the sulphurous flames from  
the fiery furnace just under the citadel  
of the New Jerusalem flashed forth  
from his bulging eyes. Seeing a nasty,  
peaky, good-for-nothing Socialist break-  
ing the laws of mammon, flying in the  
face of providence, and insulting the  
flag by daring to argue from a soap  
box, on the public street under the  
broad and piercing light of the arc  
lamp, with so great and divine a per-  
sonage as the Right Honorable Double  
Distilled self Cocking and Reversible-  
without-notice Mr. So and So—who-is-  
he-damny-know—a great and noble  
judge, loved, honored, and never mo-  
ism can break.

I gently reminded him that I might  
take a notion to sit up all night—but  
he wouldn't take a bluff like the cops  
in Rimersberg. Not he. "I'm Mr.  
Mike-O-Mack-O—You know—damn-  
fy-know—police officer—boss-of-this-  
beat—Socialist chaser, protector of the  
law, defender of the faith, and by  
damn it you come along with me!"  
"Just the guy I've been looking for  
over seven states and three terri-  
tories"

I yelled, and springing from the soap  
box I fell into his bosom, threw my legs  
around his neck, and in a few minutes  
was sound asleep—while he carried me  
caressingly to a cosy little nook in the  
northeast corner of the police station.

The judge with whom he had the  
debate was courteous and a gentleman  
throu'out—he came to the station, offer-  
ing ball—but we declined. Socialist  
comrade put up 'the ball money.

Next morning to my surprise—when  
asked to plead—up jumped the judge  
and plead my case gratuitously. Laid  
all the blame on himself and exor-  
ated the Socialists. He then told  
the police judge if he wanted to know  
anything about the Socialist philoso-  
phy to ask the little blond-headed  
boy, that he would answer satisfactor-  
ily any question he might ask. So the  
police judge called my little boy to  
the stand and put a number of ques-  
tions to him. He told the boy to go  
with his daddy and get ready for our  
next meeting. I want to say here that  
this judge with whom I had the alter-  
cation is seemingly a mighty fine fel-  
low, and Socialists here say he is in  
earnest in his attitude towards our  
philosophy, that he wants to learn  
what we really stand for.

I found a wide awake movement in  
Pennsylvania; every where the com-  
rades are working with a vim that  
nerves us agitators to renewed vigor.  
Especially have they live wires at But-  
ler, New Castle, Grove City, Erie and  
Pittsburg. The movement has grown  
wonderfully in Pittsburg since my visit  
there one year ago in behalf of Moyer,  
Haywood and Pettibone. Comrade J.  
W. Slayton gives regular Sunday morn-  
ing lectures to packed houses, that  
rival in enthusiasm the Lewis lectures  
in Chicago. While holding street  
meetings there, the local politicians  
tried to overwhelm me with questions.  
They were so chagrined and sore be-  
cause I worsted them so badly in the  
presence of perhaps nearly 1,000 cheer-  
ing workers, that one of them ran  
into a nearby saloon and came out  
with a sack of eggs—blif—bang—but  
I have a charmed life—every egg missed  
me, but the first hit a politician pal  
of the egg thrower just as he opened  
his mouth to jeer me, next hit a lady  
next a working man, Democrat. My  
what a rush! Fifty men and women  
made a rush for the sidewalk. Every-  
body seemed to grab the same thing  
at once. They took it down to the  
police station. It fought like a hyena,  
but no go. They tipped it up, stood  
it on its head, turned it inside out, and  
great Caesar, what a catch, they had  
the biggest game running wild without  
a muzzle in Pittsburg!—the Right  
Honorable Dr. Chambers, B. D. D., L.  
L. D., X. Y. Z., etc., president of the  
great "American Club" of Pittsburg.  
He gave false name. Put up ball  
money. Jumped his ball next morn-  
ing, never appeared in court, and when  
I left Pittsburg the boys were after  
him red hot—found where he lived—  
his pedigree—and intended making  
Pittsburg too warm a climate for his  
nibs.

The N. M. W. of A. have a big  
strike at Grove City and Pardo.  
Clark—James, S. Clark, vice president

of District 5, brought the striking min-  
ers to my street meeting at Grove  
City. They listened eagerly. Clark  
exploded a bomb in the enemy's camp  
at Pardo the next week. He had an  
audience of perhaps 1,500. There  
were the preachers, the merchants,  
the mine owners, as well as the scabs  
and the striking miners, and last, but  
not least—by some jumps—the Penn-  
sylvania Cossacks. Clark was wound  
up and loaded for big game. He is  
somewhat of a goer when he gets to  
going, and his experience with drunk-  
en Cossacks and the slave-driving  
president of the Pardo Coal company  
had fired him up to the proper pitch  
for so splendid an occasion, and when  
Clark got through there was a  
silence in that coal camp that you  
could hear above Niagara.

He launched out on the Class Strug-  
gle. Showed the folly of the old  
dogma of identity of interests between  
slaves and masters. Then took up po-  
litical parties. Gave the record of  
Democratic oppression in the south  
where they rule supreme. Dwelt on  
the Alabama strike; the bull-penning  
of the starving union men; the impor-  
tation of Cossacks and Pinkertons to  
fasten crimes upon innocent men; con-  
trasted Democratic anarchy in Ala-  
bama with Republican anarchy in Co-  
lorado.

Then he touched up the "peerless  
one" with is "no crown of thorns, no  
cross of gold" and contrasted his words  
with his deeds. Gave them the story  
of Bryan's brutal fight with a widow  
trying to rob her in the courts of her  
property. Then came his exhortation  
of big Bill Taft—the injunction fair  
and his labor hating political party.  
"They are one and the same two",  
cried Clark. "They both stand for the  
same thing—the right of the masters  
of the bread; they exploit the workers  
of all they produce by their hard and  
thankless labor but a bare living."  
power. The Capitalists get THEIR po-  
moco power through their political  
"They both stand for the system that  
breeds panics." Then with a mighty  
swing Clarke held up for the close in-  
spection of all present the life and  
record of Eugene V. Debs—the charac-  
ter and principles of the Socialist  
Party. Showed them convincingly  
what it stood for. Then said "I am  
not here to drive or dictate to any  
man as to how he shall vote. Your  
vote is your own, use it as you please,  
only use it in your own interest, and  
my only advice is 'vote as you strike.'"  
"What do you mean by that?" asked  
a striking miner.

Said Clarke: "What do you strike  
against? Who do you strike against?  
What party is trying to secure for you  
all and more than you are striking  
for?" And do you know, the cat jump-  
ed clear out of the bag. He tried to  
grab it by the tail and pull it back, but  
the tail slipped, right under the noses  
of the slave drivers, the preachers, the  
politicians, the Cossacks, the scabs,  
the tail slipped, and if I am not a fool  
those strikers knew what Clarke was  
driving at.

Then he went after the Cossacks.  
The "lousy bums and bar-room loaf-  
ers" I think he christened them.  
And the scabs. He shied a few  
mental bricks that bounced up and  
down on their poor defenseless heads.  
They wished they were home with  
mamma. Even the Cossacks looked  
too cheap to defend them "now."

Then the preachers—oh, the preach-  
ers—God pity the preachers! "Woe  
unto them that rob the widow and the  
orphan, better for them had they never  
been born." Scribes, Pharisees, hypo-  
crites, devour widows houses and for  
a pretense make long prayers and  
bind men with burdens grievous to be  
borne, etc. Up and at them from  
start to finish, hurling scriptural jav-  
line to heal up the rankling wounds  
his economic broadsides had torn into  
their holy anatomy. Concluding he  
said softly:

"If the tree bear not good fruit, cut  
it down. But if it bear good fruit,  
nourish and care for it that it may  
bring forth more fruit," etc., intimat-  
ing that Capitalistic society is rotten  
to the core and must be removed, and  
that a new and better society offering  
freedom and equal opportunities to all  
must take its place.

Mr. Pheehan, president of the Pitts-  
burg District, will vote for "Gene." If  
you want to know how Clark will  
vote go to Grove City and ask the  
mine owners what Clark means by  
"voting as we strike." One of the  
bunch tried to run Clark down with  
an automobile. They say Clark never  
learned to cuss or quote scripture to  
preachers till he went up against the  
coal barons at Pardo and Grove City.  
Here's your health, Brother Clark.

Another Socialist conference was  
held in Vienna at the close of last  
month, and this time the Hungarian  
political situation was under discus-  
sion. It is hoped that this conference  
will have the effect of giving universal  
suffrage to the Working Class of Hun-  
gary, as the conference of three years  
ago secured the ballot for the Work-  
ing lass of Austria.

The Universities of Russia have  
been enjoying self government until a  
few weeks ago, when the Russian gov-  
ernment issued a circular depriving  
them of this right. A general strike of  
all Russian students was called and  
it was put into effect at once in St.  
Petersburg, Moscow and Charkov.

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# ATTENTION, VOTERS!

The Socialist Party State Ticket and County Ticket will not appear on the official ballot, only that Party's Nominees for Presidential Electors. The State Supreme Court has decided that the Party of the Working Class must pay the same unreasonable fee before the name of their party candidates may be printed on the official ballot, as the parties of the Capitalist Class. The Socialist Party, being the party of the Working Class, whose members, though they produce all the wealth, as their share of the wealth receive only enough to make a bare living, can not and will not be disfranchised.

The Socialist Party is in the field with a full state, district and county ticket. To give the workmen of this state an opportunity to vote for their own representatives, "stickers" will be provided to be distributed among voters on election day.

Take this sticker with the names of candidates on the one side and gummed on the other, detach that part which has the candidates for the judiciary, and paste in the blank space of the Socialist Party column directly under the names of the Presidential Electors.

Paste the detached part with the names for the judiciary directly over the names of candidates printed on official ballot.

Mark a cross in Circle designating that you have voted a straight Socialist ticket.

The State Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Washington, Per R. KRUEGER, State Secretary, Room 208, 1414 Second Ave. Seattle, Wash.

Posters like above (9 by 12 in.) can be obtained of State Office, to be tacked up near Polling Places and elsewhere—Ed.

## OFFICIAL INSTRUCTIONS TO SOCIALIST WATCHERS AND VOTERS

Comrades of Washington: For the first time in the history of the movement, circumstances have shaped themselves so that we are forced to enter this campaign and exercise our abilities in the field of practical politics. Let's show to the rest of the comrades of the world that we are equal to the opportunity; let us force our political opponents, the election judges, to count an awe inspiring Socialist vote to their masters, the Capitalist Class, who through their various agencies have striven to disfranchise the Socialists in this state. Demonstrate to them that by that action they have succeeded only to build up an opposing political machinery, which two years hence will equal in efficiency and usefulness to the Working Class, that of their own political machinery as combined in both the old parties.

### The Law

Extracts from the "General Election Laws" of the State of Washington, as compiled by Sam H. Nichols, Secretary of State, and published by authority in 1907.

Sec. 36. \* \* \* Nothing in this chapter contained shall prevent any

voter from writing or pasting on his ballot the names of any person for whom he desires to vote for any office, and such vote shall be counted, the same as if printed upon the ballot and marked by the voter, and any voter may take with him into the polling place any printed or written memorandum or paper to assist him in marking or preparing his ballot except as hereinafter provided.

Note. Nothing "hereinafter provided" will prevent you from carrying out instructions.

Sec. 46. \* \* \* Any elector may write in the blank space, or paste over any other name, the name of any person for whom he may wish to vote. \* \* \*

Sec. 51. In the canvass of the votes any ballots or parts of a ballot from which it is impossible to determine the elector's choice shall be void and shall not be counted: Provided, That when a ballot is sufficiently plain to gather therefrom a part of the voter's intention, it shall be the duty of the judges of election to count such part.

Sec. 55. \* \* \* No person shall do any electioneering on election day within any polling place or any building in which an election is being held, or within 50 feet thereof, nor obstruct the doors or entries thereto, or prevent free ingress or egress from said building. \* \* \*

Sec. 70. The counting of ballots shall in all cases be public. \* \* \*

### How to Work

Every Socialist must be on deck on election day. Those designated by the Party officials to represent the Party at the polls on election day should also be provided with proper credentials by the respective officials, should also be provided with conspicuous Socialist Party badges so that every elector may easily recognize them.

Not less than two, one of whom should be a party member, should be placed at every polling place in the State, and should be placed not closer than 50 feet from entrance to polling place, so that every elector approaching the polling place from any direction may observe them and recognize them as the persons representing the Socialist Party on that day at the polling places.

All watchers are cautioned to be on the lookout for all old party politicians and schemers. Every effort will be made by which our supply of stickers may be exhausted long before the close of the polls and thus prevent many of Socialist Party voters from casting their votes for a full ticket. To prevent this and to insure the fullest possible Socialist vote, you are advised to:

1. Keep stickers about your person well protected, so that an unscrupulous person can not snatch them from you.
2. Do not expose more than one sticker at a time. Socialist voters will recognize at once the wisdom of your action and will not feel inconvenienced by waiting for a sticker a few moments.
3. Refuse stickers to all persons known to you as our political opponents.
4. Instruct voters with relation to stickers, impart to them all the information you can.
5. Induce known Socialists to assist you, and if possible have them remain at the polls.
6. Do not leave the polls unless you have found a trustworthy substitute, if possible a member of the Party.
7. Supply your substitute with a reasonable amount of stickers only during your temporary absence.
8. If permanently relieved for the day, request of the one relieving you to see his credentials, remembering that Party officials can not possibly present themselves at all polling places to assure you that everything is well.
9. Take nothing for granted, not even that a relief may come to allow you to go to lunch. Take a lunch along with you when going to the polls.

10. Be on hand when ballots are being counted at the close of polls.

11. Keep a close lookout for Socialist Party ballots only, which on account of stickers may easily be discerned. We do not care how many ballots of either of the old parties may have been cast, but must care and see to it that all of our ballots are counted.

12. See to it that you are supplied with a tally sheet and pencil in time so as to be ready when count of ballots commences.

13. Tally the Socialist Party ballots only.

14. Stay at the polls and watch the count until the last ballot has been counted.

15. Send your tallysheet at once to proper Party official. Take several copies of the same, one to be sent to your local secretary or secretary of the county campaign committee, or to the state secretary direct as the circumstances may require, and retain one for yourself for future reference.

### How to Vote

To insure a full Party vote at this election, you are advised:

1. In the third column on the official ballot which will be handed to you when you offer to vote, there will appear "SOCIALIST TICKET" with a circle underneath. Your first and most important duty before you do anything else is to mark a cross in the circle under the words "Socialist Ticket" in third column on official ballot.

2. This done, you have voted for the Socialist Party candidates for Presidential electors and thus for our Party standard bearer, Eugene V. Debs.

3. The "Sticker" you have procured outside will contain all the Socialist Party Candidates for the various state offices, as well as county and district, and in some counties the candidates for the judiciary.

4. Detach first from slip or sticker the perforated non-partisan judiciary part, and paste same directly over the names of any of the other candidates for the same office, and whose names are printed on the official ballot.

5. Fraternally yours for the Working Class Revolution, R. KRUEGER, State Secy. and Treas. Socialist Party of Washington, 208 Shafer Bldg, 1414 Second Ave., Seattle Wash. P. O. Box, No. 52.

### WHERE IS YOUR WIFE?

In the Socialist movement, men and women are supposed to be treated equally, and there cannot be any boundary line between them. And all of us believe that this is one of the proudest features the Socialist party has in its program. It is indeed the essential point of our great international movement, that men and women should be equal, politically and economically, as well as socially.

Yet, when we come to practice, we are not always in accord with this highly respectable principle of ours. All of us know Socialists who are enthusiastic workers among men, and whose wives are not allowed to remain in ignorance of what their husbands are thinking about.

While this ignorance is in a large measure due to woman's conditions—the burden of household cares preventing them from thinking of the questions of the day, there lies a greater responsibility on the part of the husbands to converse with, and encourage their wives in some study at home that will be beneficial to them.

The idea that Socialism is only to be discussed in halls and at meeting places, and is not brought home, is false. This notion makes it too much like old party politics, which are good for saloon gatherings, ward heelers, and election day topics, but not for family discussion. This failure to interest the wife in Socialist ideas may be responsible, largely, for their absence, rather than their presence, at the local meetings.

In the present day we find the churches filled with women, and the Socialist meeting places filled with men, and the emphasized church abnormal. Why not the same for the masculine local abnormal? And even more abnormal, since they stand for the immediate welfare of both men and women, and should the more be represented by both sexes!

Not long since an intelligent woman, discussing her husband's Socialism, said: "In the last six years in which my husband has been a Socialist, he has a good deal of the time been interested in the local and in public meetings; and he has never yet asked me to attend any of them with him." What sort of a man is this? What does he mean when he says he is helping to inaugurate a "co-operative commonwealth? With whom is he to co-operate? If he only co-operates with a part of the people, the masculine element, he will not have a democratic Socialism, and a Socialism that is not democratic is not Socialism at all.

It is true that only men can vote today. And Socialism may be realized by the work of the voting part of humanity. But the moment it is thus gotten, the women will be given a vote. If they have never been taught to know the principles of our movement, if they do not know the work of our locals, our methods of procedure, our intentions, in fact, they are as likely to throw us out of power with their newly acquired power, as they are to help us along. And ten times more so.

Political action, and political rights in the party are good things, but the need of education is better, more important, more urgent, and education should extend to all people, to women and even to children, since the children of today will decide the policy of the society of tomorrow.

Let us not be too egotistic, too certain of our masculine strength. We need the average woman, the sisters, sweethearts, and especially the wives, in the movement. It is not enough to rest content that we stand for women as well as for men, because we have an exceptional, gifted woman here and there in the party, working shoulder to shoulder with the men comrades. These women would be at the top anywhere. It is the downmost women we want to educate, even as we educate the downmost men. Then look into your own conscience.

## THE WOMAN

By Bessy Fiset

What is the matter with the Socialist men?

Can it be that in spite of all they profess concerning their attitude toward women, they really, down deep in their hearts, are so selfish that—rather than be inconvenienced by having to stay home and mind the baby once or twice a week—they are content to allow their wives the privilege of being mere females?

When a man hasn't yet fought his way out of the dense mental fog that seems to surround the average wage slave, it is not just surprising that he refrain from urging his spouse to attend Browning Bouts and Culture Conclaves!

But when a class conscious working man, member of the Socialist Party, is not only lukewarm as to his wife's enlightenment, but actually makes her once a week intellectual "spree" as hard of accomplishment as possible—he's nothing short of a contemptible hypocrite—I don't care who he is!

If men had to carry their tools about with them and be sawing and hammering, running machines, moulding, laying brick, etc., while attending Socialist or other political meetings, I doubt if the male attendance would not diminish perceptibly. But that is just the state of affairs with many of the women and no one seems to think much about it.

That everlasting go-cart, the omnipotent small boy with his awkward shoes clamping over the floor at the wrong minute; the small girl, insistent asking, "How much longer will it last!" These women has ever with her!

I appreciate the fact that no man can conceive it to be possible that his wife should not execute with joy every duty attendant upon the care of his children and I suppose the thought that possibly (nay, probably, in the case of many women of the working class) the advent of the child was in every way repugnant to her, has never even penetrated the male mind!

But to come down to the point. If a man goes out one night a week, unhampered, free to go where he will, should not the woman take the same privilege? And isn't she very foolish if she doesn't take it? Housework, washing, ironing, cooking, sweeping, baking, mending, etcetera, constitute, as I see it, the woman's work in our present scheme of living.

Now, having children is not the result of one person's inclinations and it seems to me most unjust that the pain, work and most of the worry attendant thereon should be borne by the woman alone.

The Socialist Party will be just as well off if the married men comrades take a hand at practical child raising once a week, even if it keeps them home from a meeting now and again, and certainly the party will gain a great deal with the coming in of each earnest woman.

Men Comrades, don't be a stumbling block in the way of your wife's advancement. Give them the glad hand and let them see that their development means enough to you to make you willing to inconvenience yourselves occasionally in order that they may draw a full breath in some other atmosphere. Just try it and see how pleased they will be!

We are hoping one of the suffragists will meet us in debate on the night of the 25th. Up to now we have received no definite answer, and it begins to look as if they did not intend to accept our invitation. We are heartily sorry if this proves to be the case, because we are looking forward to a most interesting meeting.

This propaganda meeting has been put into the hands of the State Woman's Committee and the women are doing everything to make it a success.

All women are especially invited to be present and each man in the habit of attending our meetings is expected to bring a woman with him, even if he has to go into the highways and byways and compel them to come in!

Comrades Hattie Titus and Bessy Fiset went to Everett last Sunday and organized the women of Local Everett. There is every indication of a strong woman's study club there, for even though the women members of the Local are few in number, they are women of the right material and are thoroughly in earnest.

A Tennessee man has been fined \$2,500 for killing quail out of season. No such fine has ever been levied on any manufacturer for exploiting little children below the legal age. "There's a reason" for the difference, as Mr. Post would say. The children in the mills are children of the poor, and they are plenty. Quail are a much prized luxury for the tables of the rich, and it is necessary to conserve the supply by protecting them during the breeding season.—New York Daily Call.

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# WHY ORGANIZED LABOR, EVERY MEMBER OF IT, SHOULD BE ENTHUSIASTIC SOCIALISTS

## SPEECH BY W. W. SMITH, OF EVERETT, WASHINGTON

The reason that Organized Labor throughout this country, should be Enthusiastic Socialists, is because that through Socialism lies their only hope of gaining the point, or obtaining the goal for which they collectively contend.

Now I believe I will prove the truth of that statement.

First, I shall quote a few lines from the constitution of the Iron Molders Union of North America, of which union I am a member, in order to clearly demonstrate the goal for which that organization is contending.

I may say, however, that the same principles adopted by this organization, will substantially apply to all the other Labor unions in the country, since they are all allied into one central body, the A. F. of L.

The passage I refer to is as follows: "Believing that under the present social system there is a general tendency to deny the producer the full reward of his industry and skill, and that the welfare of a community depends upon the purchasing powers of its members, and that the only means of successfully resisting the power that the centralization of Capital has placed in the hands of the few, is by organized effort, etc."

Remember now that the object of Organized Labor is, to secure to the workers, "the Full Reward of their industry and skill," and to that object the great labor unions throughout this country today are waging an eternal warfare against the Capitalists. It is to this end that the wage earners from ocean to ocean are waging most bitter warfare that the world has ever seen, a warfare that never ceases, a war by day and a war by night with no intermission, with no rest.

This warfare has been in operation for a great while, and where are we today; what have we gained, or what have we lost rather?

Before I proceed to discuss what we as organized laborers, have gained—or lost, let me mention a very important fact which we must not forget.

First: Every citizen in or out of the unions are first of all, subject to the laws of the land. This is perfectly right and proper. Man, by his very nature is, always was, and always will be subject to the laws of society of which he is a part. We can not get around that fact, for we are after all as cogs in a great wheel. It is true that some people deny this, but because some deny it, is no reason that it is not true.

Second: The laws are made by the people that we vote into power.

Third: The laws are enforced by the people that hold their offices through our consent.

Fourth: The laws are interpreted by the courts, judges, etc., that also hold their offices through our consent. Now remember I say "OUR CONSENT," because I mean by the consent of the majority, and undoubtedly the working class are in the very great majority.

We will consider first what organized labor has lost. But will not attempt to enumerate in detail the complete loss sustained, for it is beyond human effort and knowledge, almost to do that. At best we can only get a faint idea of that vast sum.

Organized labor has lost almost every strike of importance within the past fifty years. I will name a few of the defeats that organized labor has sustained within the time I refer to.

First: The great A. R. U. strike of 1894 of Chicago, which resulted in the utter destruction of that organization.

Then the group of big strikes some four or five years ago, which you will recall were overwhelming defeats for labor.

The Textile Workers' big strike at Fall River, Mass.; the Meat Packers' strike at Chicago; the Teamsters' strike also of Chicago, and the Telegraphers' strike which occurred a short time previous to these, and which extended pretty nearly throughout the country, that aroused the ire of his small adversary. A moment later he felt a great pulling and tugging at his coat tails. Looking down he was greatly astonished to see his opponent wildly gesticulating and dancing around him.

"What on earth are you trying to do there, Dudley?" he asked.

"By Gawd suh, I'm fightin' suh."

As it is at present the very best organized labor can do is to kind of tug at the coat tails of Capitalism.

You can not get your rights by violence. If you attempt that procedure, you would have the least chance of all of success; for in such an event, as all past records have proven, all the power of government is against you. The Army, the Navy and all the forces of the government would crush you. Besides, that is not the proper way to wield your power. It is not necessary to resort to violence in this country today in order to secure to yourselves that which is yours.

I have no patience with the man who says, "there must be war and bloodshed to bring about peace and justice."

It is a bad peace that must be paid for with human blood.

It is a bad brand of justice that must be secured through violence and hate. Peace and justice wrought by such methods can hardly be permanent, and why should such a fearful price be paid for a temporary relief?

We should not, and can not consider such methods for a moment. The only reason I mention this phase of the question here, is because I have heard several say that this is the only remedy. I want to thoroughly discredit any such theory, and I believe you will agree with me in making the assertion that Violence is absolutely the last resort, and until every other method has failed, this phase of violent action should not enter the mind of any intelligent worker.

I do not hesitate to tell you today that the ONLY RECOURSE for Organized labor, in securing their goal, "the full reward for their industry and skill," IS IN SOCIALISM.

There is nothing mean in the word at all, and I repeat, to you must look for your remedy.

The fact is, if you will take the time to investigate the question a little, you will find that we already have Socialism to a very great extent. We now have Socialism in almost every way, except in ownership and management.

We have Socialism in production and in consumption, and if we extend the matter to social ownership and management, the thing will be complete. Which is not a very great undertaking after all when the workmen of the country get their minds made up to an effect that it shall be.

In order to demonstrate my assertion that we already have Socialism

and fifty million dollars. Just think of it, a hundred and fifty million dollars through this one item of dues alone!

Now another phase of defeats, defeats of a different kind, which have occurred within the past year, and these LAST DEFEATS have, without doubt, completely PROSTRATED organized labor in the very dust.

With these crushing blows to organized labor you are perfectly familiar, and no doubt realize their full import.

First, came the sweeping injunction, which completely binds your hands with bands of iron in the event of strikes; not allowed to picket or even speak to the man who has taken your job, and the iron hand of the law behind the Judge to enforce the injunction, the police force, the military of the U. S. to enforce the courts decree.

When you begin to intrude significantly upon your employers' profits or dividends, in fact when you begin to make an effective attempt to procure for yourself the "full reward, or even a goodly part of the reward of your industry and skill," all this machinery of power that I have just mentioned is arrayed against you, and binds you with an iron hand so tightly that you are utterly helpless, all in the name and in the scope of the law.

It is no doubt fresh in your minds that on Feb. 11 of this year, three or four of the leaders of the Typographical union in New York City, were fined two hundred and fifty dollars each, and thrown into jail for violation of an injunction.

The day of strikes is practically past, especially strikes of material importance.

It is not uncommon for agreements between employers of labor and the unions to be abrogated by the employer. As long as your agreements do not interfere with your employers' profits, he does not mind, but when the shoe begins to pinch, the agreement must be annulled.

Secondly, the Federal Supreme Court has ended your privilege to boycott. By that highest authority of the U. S. from whose decision there is no appeal, you are restrained from the boycott.

If you inflict damage upon your employer through the instrument of your boycott, every dollar in the treasury of your union can be taken to satisfy the damages, and if there is not enough money in your treasury to satisfy the damages to your employer, you and every individual of your union, can be sued and what belongings you have personally taken to satisfy those damages.

NOW WHAT WEAPON HAVE YOU LEFT WITH WHICH TO FIGHT FOR THE FULL REWARD OF YOUR INDUSTRY AND SKILL?

The methods that are employed by organized labor in fighting its battles at the present time—remind me of a story I read recently of two leading attorneys of Memphis, who had been warm friends for years. These two attorneys happened to be opposing counsel in a case some time ago.

The older of the two was a man of magnificent physique, about six feet four, and built in proportion. While the younger was barely five feet and weighed not more than ninety pounds.

In the course of his argument the big man unwittingly made some remark that aroused the ire of his small adversary. A moment later he felt a great pulling and tugging at his coat tails. Looking down he was greatly astonished to see his opponent wildly gesticulating and dancing around him.

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We have Socialism in production and in consumption, and if we extend the matter to social ownership and management, the thing will be complete. Which is not a very great undertaking after all when the workmen of the country get their minds made up to an effect that it shall be.

In order to demonstrate my assertion that we already have Socialism

in production, let me quote from a newspaper article under the caption: "Three thousand fingers help to make a man's coat."

"According to the U. S. bureau of labor the old song, 'It takes nine tailors to make a man,' is filled with misinformation, for in reality, the bureau finds, it takes thirty-nine men of different trades just to make a coat under the present system of shop manufacture. The day when one tailor measured the customer, cut out the goods, and with his apprentices shaped it into a finished garment, has passed.

Today all one tailor may do through his entire life is to mark the places where buttons are to be sewed on. Another man never marks places on buttons, the specialty is to mark button holes. A third man spend the long day in sewing on buttons; a fourth man in making button holes. Men who sew sleeves do not make arm-holes. The armholists give place to shoulder shapers, and these last do not touch collars, which are a distinct specialty.

Even the men who manipulate the tailor's goose are divided into pressers of seams, edges, linings, sleeves, and coat pressers. The basters stick and one of the specialties of basting, and a separate functionary, the basting puller, undoes their work.

Even the coat strap is a separate province. So that when the coat is finished, it represents thirty-nine distinct varieties of work by as many men. And when a man finally puts on the coat he is wearing the product of 312 fingers and 78 thumbs, not counting the digits of those who sheared the sheep, wove the cloth, dyed it, finished it, nor the innumerable clerical hands that kept a book record of all the specialties. Probably from sheep to wearer, the coat was handled by at least 3000 fingers.

The specialization of industry, where one man all his life makes but a fraction of an article and has no chance to learn all the processes, has, with the introduction of machinery, killed the apprentice system and has resulted in the falling off of skill among workmen.

The apprentice came in with the guild system; where he was able to learn all of the trade and to make a finished article under the personal supervision of a master workman.

In the old days a boy could be apprenticed to a tailor and in two or three years learn to make a suit of clothes himself.

Today in a large tailor shop a boy could learn probably but one operation at a time, and to master the whole thirty-nine needed to make a coat would take him seventy-eight years, learning each occupation. And he still would have to learn cutting and "pants making" and "vest tailoring."

The social manner of production in the making of coats is almost identical with every other branch of industry.

I am informed that there are sixty-four machines of different type required to make a pair of shoes under the present socialized system of factory manufacture, thus dividing the shoe making trade into sixty-four different branches of industry.

You make a certain part of a certain article, and then you in turn consume and use many other articles, which were made probably thousands of miles away, by other workmen, by a process of which you know nothing at all, and hundreds of thousands of other workers are using the product of your toil.

Now this is SOCIALISM as far as it goes, that is, in PRODUCTION and CONSUMPTION, and it is not such a terrible thing after all, even if it is purely and simply Socialism.

Neither would our Capitalist friends think Socialism was a bad thing if we would be content to let it rest right where it is at the present time. They would not even object to the word with a great big ISM attached to it.

But the simple fact that we have Socialism in production and consumption causes the absolute necessity for Socialism in ownership and management.

The simple fact that we have Social production and consumption, makes it imperative for you and me and for the countless hosts of workers to have Social ownership as well.

For the fact that we have social production, together with machinery that goes hand in hand with it, thus specializing and multiplying the speed of output of the utilities of life, piles up wealth so fast that only a small percent of the workers are required to do the work of the country, the great majority of the would-be workers, into the ever-increasing army of the unemployed, and that as long as the wage system endures. For this fact alone we must have social ownership as well as social production.

The fact remains that as long as a man's purchasing powers are governed by his wages, that when his wages stop, then he, of course, stops buying and stops consuming, and as the vast majority must necessarily be out of work, and consequently unable to consume, then those that are at work will be reduced because of underconsumption. Then the whole machine becomes clogged. We undoubtedly realize that at the present time the industrial machine is very much clogged.

Then what is to be done?

Must we starve because we have the capacity to produce TOO MUCH by our Socialized methods?

Must we freeze because we have the capacity to produce TOO MUCH clothing by our Socialized methods of production?

These questions can only be answered intelligently by the Socialists. The Socialists tell you: We must not starve and freeze because Socialism has incapacitated us to the extent that we make the means of life too fast and in too great a quantity and abundance.

One of the great thinkers—I do not remember just who it was—in writing on the evils of democracy, said: "The cure for democracy is more democracy."

The Socialists answer for this cure of the evils of social production, is "MORE SOCIALISM." In other words, let us have complete Socialism. Nothing ever worked satisfactorily half hearted.

If we can produce more rapidly by the aid of machinery, by specialized, socialized methods of industry, then it stands to reason that that is the best way.

THE BAD PART MUST BE REMOVED. THAT IS, THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP PART. IT MUST GIVE WAY TO PROGRESS.

We do not have panics and industrial depressions because the masses of the people have too much, and because the great majority of the people have no personal demands for the commodities that go to make life worth living and comfortable.

If the wants of the people were supplied it would tax to the utmost capacity every industrial institution in the country, for months to come, to meet the demand.

There is one thing that we Socialists have learned, and learned it well. Things are not made for use, but instead, are made for profit. That statement sounds strange to many people. But it is proof within itself.

Here it is: No matter how useful an article is, when the profit on that particular article ceases, right then and there that article ceases to be made.

It all happens automatically. The same cause that takes the profits from an article also discontinues the production of it, regardless of its usefulness to the people.

Upon that one point—PROFIT—hinges almost all our industrial hardships and wants.

To that source we can trace directly a thousand woes.

We can lay at the door of profit, insane asylums, prisons, suicides, hatred, poverty and want, murder, liars. What can we not lay at the door of that little word—profit?

You say, what has that to do with me? I remember a press dispatch a couple of months ago, in which was mentioned a street riot in Cleveland, Ohio. Men were fighting to the death with each other to see who would get the most advantageous place by the gate of the American Steel Trust in that city.

A few men were wanted to work in the mill, and as there were so many more men wanting to work there than there were jobs to be had, they began to fight with stones, clubs and revolvers, for the most advantageous place by the gate where application for the work could be made.

Now, the cause of that riot was because PROFIT—PROFIT—could not be realized on the whole gang of them.

Hundreds of thousands of honest men are tramping this country today—involuntary beggars—because they cannot make PROFIT. Mark that. Because they cannot make PROFIT for some idler, called a Capitalist.

Now, I am not going to try to outline the whole plan of Socialism in detail to you today. I have taken too much time already, and yet there is much that I wish to say.

It is sufficient for me to say that all the industrial ills from which labor—ORGANIZED and UNORGANIZED—are suffering today, are due to the economic conditions; that is, the labor-saving machinery, the specialization of industry that goes with the machine, and the centralization of wealth, all of which reduces industry to an exact science.

Now, to bear out this statement, let me quote from Rev. Charles H. Vall's book, "Principles of Scientific Socialism."

"Glance for a moment at a few of these new devices. There is an electrical riveting machine which inserts 1,200 rivets in ten hours. A needle-making machine has lately been introduced which turns out 500 needles a minute, and one which may be operated by a child; the sheets of tin are fed into it at one end and at the other 64 cans drop out every minute, 35,000 every day. An expert tinner can make but 500 cans a day. Each machine then displaces between 70 and 80 men, and is operated by a child. A can-labeling machine has been perfected which labels 60 cans a minute. There is a self-feeding print press, of late invention, that prints 10,000 or more cards in an hour, registers to hair. Cigar-making machines, which turn out neatly wrapped cigars at the rate of 3,000 a day, have made their appearance. A bread-molding machine has been invented with which three persons can mould over 20,000 loaves a day. A pea-shelling machine has been put in operation by which three machines, operated by five to eight persons, shell as many bushels of peas as a hundred persons used to. This machine works automatically and will, with a few improvements, be operated by one man. A glass-blowing machine has been introduced which turns out tumblers at the cost of six cents a hundred against fifty cents by the old hand process. In the cotton industry one man and two boys now do the work formerly requiring one thousand spinners. Among weavers one man now does the work of fifty. In making horsehoes, one man can do the work which years ago required the labor of five hundred men. In making nails one man can now do the work formerly done by one thousand men. One man can today set as much copy in type as used to require from six to ten men. With the Northpole loom one man now does the work of ninety men with the hand-loom. In the steel industry three men with the latest machine will turn out in ten hours two

hundred and fifty tons of steel billets, whereas, in 1892, it required one hundred and fifteen men to do the same work in the same length of time. In boiler-making thirty men now do the work that but a few years ago required five hundred men in agriculture each patent blinder throws nearly twenty men out of work, each cotton harvester displaces thirty-eight men, each steam plow twenty-one men. Each riveting machine displaces twenty-one men. Each steam-roller with patent pick throws out of work from eighteen to thirty-eight men."

The illustrations might be indefinitely multiplied but why continue? Is it not evident that machinery is constantly displacing labor? Are not laborers by the thousands and millions being robbed of their living by the introduction of labor-saving machines?

What, then, is to be done? Shall we break up the machines? No, socialize them. It is the private ownership of machinery that throws men out of work."

The wise men of Texas have almost decided that the machine will have to be broken up. I presume that you are aware of the fact that the officialdom of Texas is making a great effort to drive the trusts from that state. One of the high officials of that state, in discussing the matter of chasing the trusts from the State of Texas, remarked with emphasis: "We are going to drive the trusts from this state even if we have to go back to the sickle and the hoe."

Now wouldn't that be great, to make away with the great steam plow, with its great possibilities and resourcefulness, and get out in the field with the hoe? Do away with the great harvester machinery, to get out in the field with the sickle! Now that is a Democrat. They are all Democrats in Texas, you know.

The old Democrats would turn back the great wheel of progress, and undo the work of evolutionary progress; would destroy the work of inventive genius for ages past, and would plunge us back into the dark ages where we would have to start the public struggle all over again. IMPOSSIBLE. YOU KNOW IT IS.

The Republican party does not propose to break up the machines, and turn back the great wheel of progress. Not a bit of it. They propose to leave things just as they are; let the machine continue just as it is at present, privately owned; let us have panics and armies of the unemployed, and overwork and all that sort of things. And they don't hesitate to tell you so, either. Just note the nature of the present social public nominee for Governor, in which he pledges a continuation of the same GOOD (?) government as we have had in the past. You can take the Republican program just as you would some of these patent medicines; take it internally, externally and eternally, with the same results.

Wealth has flowed, and will continue to flow, more rapidly than ever before, to the central institutions of wealth—the trusts, or money kings. The very nature of the present socialized industrial system is in itself a self-absorbing element that is soon to bring the entire industrial world under complete subjection to a few isolated capitalists.

DO YOU DOUBT IT? The figures taken from the United States census for 1900—and these figures no doubt have been greatly reduced since 1900—are as follows:

The plutocracy of the U. S. formed only nine-tenths of one per cent. of the population. Yet plutocracy owned seventy per cent of the total wealth of the U. S.

The middle class—the man who runs the corner grocery, or the man who operates the small shop, etc., form twenty-nine per cent. of the population, and own only twenty-five per cent. of the total wealth of the country.

THE PROLETARIAT CLASS—that class to which YOU and I belong—composed seventy per cent. of the population, and owned ONLY FOUR PER CENT. of the wealth of the country.

Now turn these figures over in your mind for a moment, and SEE if you have been getting the full reward of your industry and skill. And bear in mind that labor applied to natural resources, is the source of all wealth.

Now the fact is, that within a generation the evolution of industry has, by stages, commencing with the small competitive manufacturer, developed into bigger and bigger corporations; combinations have absorbed the corporations; and then bigger combinations absorbed the smaller combinations, until today the industry of the whole is gathered together into such a centralized head, that the whole industrial machine is almost under one head.

Yet we are quite frequently told that the undertaking would be too great. When in reality the taking of control is the easiest part of the whole business, for these institutions are already perfectly organized.

I shall have to go over these questions quite hastily, and in consequence can only give them a passing glance.

The only thing for the working class to do, constituting as they do seventy per cent. of the people, is to form the BIGGEST combination of them ALL, and absorb all the industrial combinations into one MIGHTY, PEACEFUL, CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

Do away with that mighty monster, "the profit system," which is the child of and the curse of private ownership in the means of production and distribution.

When this is done, organized labor will obtain the goal for which all this warfare is being fruitlessly waged.

I know that many of you will absorb whole pages in the daily papers describing some brutish contest, and other equally brutal and other wise. To this there certainly can be no objection, but WHY NOT spend a little time also in reading literature on economic thought, by which we will be able to remedy our industrial woes?

The great fault with the rank and

file of organized labor is that they sadly neglect to thoroughly investigate the causes of their oppression. It is surely a sad fact, but fact it is, that they let somebody else do their thinking, instead of thinking for themselves.

Now, let me demonstrate a point right here.

The lawyers have a union, as well as we have. Now let us see how they work it. Some months ago a copy of their official publication happened to fall into my hands, and about the first item I read in it was a resolution they had adopted at their convention, which was to be presented to the legislature.

This bill was for the increase of salaries for all the judges; and, as well as I remember, other measures were contained in the resolution which would tend to lighten the work, and give them more leisure. They have the legislatures that you have elected, to raise their salaries, and lighten their work.

They do their own thinking, and think in their own interests.

Now, what do YOU get when YOU go after an increase in your wages? You get the INJUNCTION, right from those same judges that YOU HAVE ELECTED. And if you don't like the injunction and become a little rough about it, you get the police clubs and the militia.

This is all, because you do not thoroughly realize your CLASS INTERESTS. Because YOU have not done your own thinking. You have left all the thinking—so far as the laws that are to govern you are concerned—to those slick-tongued politicians; to do it for you.

I want to ask your patience for a few moments more on the so-called "class hatred" and "voting for the best man," and then I am done.

Socialists are quite commonly accused of trying to stir up class hatred. Now Socialism does not endeavor to engender class hatred in the minds of working men against the capitalist class; Socialism does not ask you to hate anybody. But Socialism does try, and justly, too, to awaken in the mind of every working man, a class consciousness. This is done because through class consciousness alone, can the workers ever know really what are their class interests. And until the working class learn what are its class interests, they will never be able to do anything that will be of material interest to them as a class.

You may be sure of one thing: the capitalist class are thoroughly class conscious. Argument is not necessary to prove that statement. And it is because of that fact that all the wealth of the country lies on that side, and it is because of that fact that they do not want you to become class conscious. They do not want you to realize your class interests thoroughly, for the simple fact is that when the working class become acquainted with their own interests, composing as they do SEVENTY PER CENT. of the population, then there will be an end to Capitalism.

It is true that some Socialists—AND I MAY ADD, A GREAT MANY WHO ARE NOT SOCIALISTS—really do hate the Capitalist class, probably. But we must take into consideration that Socialists are like others, only human, and some times have cause, no doubt, for such hate.

Socialism presents to you a clear ANALYSIS of your CLASS INTERESTS, with or without hate. The hate feature having nothing to do with it at all.

Now a few thoughts on organized labor's past career, politically.

You will remember, probably, that Samuel Gompers said some twelve or fifteen years ago: "If I have my headquarters at Washington, where I can keep in close touch with the lawmakers and be right there on the ground, I can do a great deal more toward securing legislation friendly to labor than I can now." Forthwith the headquarters of the A. F. of L. was moved to the national capital, and Gompers has been there ever since; right on the ground; right in the thick of the fight.

Now if it was as Gompers said, that it would help organized labor to force their issues, then where on earth would we have been today if Gompers had not kept away from the capital? Considering what we have already got in the way of injunctions, anti-boycotts, etc., I suppose we would have been in chains now, every son of us.

This reminds me of a South American war story of which I read recently. I will give it to you: "The battle was going against him. The commander-in-chief, himself ruler of the South American republic, sent an aide to the rear, ordering General Blanco to bring up the regiment at once. Ten minutes passed, but it did not come; twenty, thirty, an hour, still no regiment. The aide came tearing back, hatless, breathless.

"My regiment! My regiment! Where is it?" shrieked the commander.

"General," answered the excited aide, "Blanco started it all right, but there are a couple of drunken Americans down the road and they won't let it go by."

Now the great American army of organized labor, with Samuel Gompers at its head, started it all right by establishing headquarters at the capital, with Gompers right there as commander-in-chief to lead it to victory through the treacherous channels of capitalist legislation. But like unto the South American army, there are a few capitalist Senators and Congressmen down there at the capital, and they won't let this great army of organized labor go by.

Now in conclusion let us pay our respects for a few brief moments to that comedy which is going the rounds just now in organized labor circles. "Vote for the best man, regardless of his political party affiliations."

Let me ask you a question now, in all candor, and answer this question to yourself honestly: Have you not always voted for the "best man?"

You never voted for the worst man in your life.

Now I call to your mind, no doubt, when you cast aside your old-stand-by party ticket and voted for the Democratic nominee because he was the best man of the two candidates.

Have you not cast aside your old-stand-by Jeffersonian Democratic party ticket and voted for the Republican

nominee because he was the best man?

OF COURSE YOU HAVE! You have always been voting for the best man. Until today there are forty-six millionaires in Congress, and the balance of them are corporation lawyers, trust agents and the like.

And these are the GOOD men that WORKINGMEN have been voting for all the time.

Now what have we got? Injunctions; anti-boycott; militia, the army to subdue you; panics and poverty; idleness; overwork. But what is the use to go on naming all we HAVE got?

Those good men that you have been sending to the halls of Congress all these years have promised you everything. But they have been doing the most natural thing in the world. They have been legislating and enacting laws to their class interests, which course is antagonistic to your interests.

Let me say to you now, sir, that the Socialist Party is a party of YOUR CLASS, composed of your class, and of course represents the interests of YOUR CLASS, which you will find to be true if you will only investigate, and it is your only hope of ever redressing your grievances in the industrial field.

The cry is raised in organized labor: "Let us pay high dues in order that we may fight capital, with capital."